/276 cont./

177 of game, and by the new facilities brought to farming by the iron
178 tools distributed about ten years ago by the Service de Protection.
433 As agriculture has remained exclusively women's work, the activity
[462] of the men has become simply diminished, and the existence level of the population has dropped. Thus, although the Service de Protection has given the natives appreciable advantages in comparison with the cultural poverty of the white or half-breed population of the interior, it has certainly diminished them in regard to their
[511] own culture. Be that as it may, the present system does not exclude economic differences. Within the body of collective obli-
241 gations, each enjoys a certain amount of freedom. It is the native
[622] chief of the village who gives the order to increase or limit the clearing of land, to sow rice or maize, or to plant manioc or tobacco. The female part of each family works one piece of land, and the land available in relation to the clearing carried out is great enough so that allotments are made without strife: the natives seem to have no boundary disputes. The cultivated plots are abandoned as soon as the land is exhausted and another piece of ground is chosen. An extreme diversity of resources exists.

736 Unmarried orphans, not being able to count on the work of a woman (mother, wife, or daughter), are deprived of all garden
737 products and live on the charity of their comrades. It is the same for the old people; after a hunt or successful fishing trip, they are brought a piece of meat or a few fish. But also sometimes they are forgotten. The indigent person is then reduced to going without
[587] a meal and all night long, alone, utters ritual lamentations. An old woman who shared our hut, neglected one day by her usual benefactors, for hours recalled the times when her five successive husbands assured her her daily bread, quite indifferent to our presents.

511 Beside them live the well fed, whether because their harvest
463 was particularly good, or because the family contains a high num-
595 ber of women (we found, among the chiefs, two examples of
412 bigamy), or even because it is a question of indispensable specialists:

[The author is evidently using the term "bigamy" in the sense of legitimate plural marriage rather than in the sense of irregular union, C.f. P. 117--Analyst]

/297 cont./

Division of Labor

462 Finally, it is impossible to study the distribution of rights and obligations between the clans and phratries, without taking into account the fact that across these varieties of social regulation a strict division of labor between the sexes is maintained. The women cultivate the land, prepare the food, do the basketry and ceramics; they feed the fire and chew the bark which is used to cover the sexual organs. The men hunt and fish, build the houses, and carry out all the work of an artisan character. We never observed spinning. All the masculine labors are carried out in the men's house, which has the appearance of a vast workshop. Only two tasks are done in the familial house: depilation of the women's forehead area, which furnishes the hairs used to make cords and various ornaments; lastly, weaving the cotton bands with which married women bind their ankles, arms, and wrists (Pl. X, A /see p. 48/) is a male obligation always carried out at home.

[283] [345] [283] [286]

/298/ Note I

614 779 It will have been noted that most of the clans and subclans bear the name of an animal or vegetable. This is the case for the four Tugare clans and for six of the eight Čera clans or subclans. Can one use the word totemism in this respect? It is very doubtful. The natives do not maintain, in fact, any relation with their eponyms. They do not show them any respect, their relations do not have any mystical character, no food prohibition exists, and the few ceremonies which take place upon the killing of certain animals seem to be unrelated to the social system. The eponymous animal is freely killed and eaten.

614 Moreover, the choice of eponyms is not made exclusively from the animal or vegetable kingdom. Sometimes a hero is invoked. Hence we find Bakoro for the Bakoro clan, and the illustrious ancestor who gives his name to the extinct °Kario Bokodori clan. The Bóro are named after a manufactured object, the

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 114 Whether the tribe farmed prior to white influence is not clear. Von den Steinen (1894) insists that they did not; cultivation, he emphasizes, occurred only along the headwaters of the São Lourenço River, and even there was confined to tobacco, cotton, and gourds used as containers, i. e., to species not serving for food. In a western aldea the growing of manioc and maize noted by Koslowsky (1895 b) seems to have been incipient, since he considered the amount insufficient for a fortnight's sustenance. Colbacchini (1925) denies agriculture but records a myth explaining the origin of maize; and of Baldus' (1936) informants some strongly affirmed and others disputed [178] the cultivation of maize (milho) in earlier times. On the Vermelho River, manioc and maize are planted nowadays, in addition 224 to rice, which is, of course, very recent.

At all events, it seems safe to conclude that the *Bororo* were predominantly [322] hunters, gatherers, and fishermen. Typically, a husband would go hunting game in the woods while his wife collected seeds, climbed palms for nuts, and dug up roots with a stick. Women also helped [462] returning hunters by carrying their kill home. Game animals included peccaries (the favorite food), tapirs, jaguars, rabbits, and [756] various birds. Communal hunting expeditions, possibly extending over several weeks, were inspired by medicine men, who indicated [231] the sites for major enterprises. Dogs were originally quite unknown.

226 Fish are caught in nets or weirs, shot with arrows (pl. 86, *bottom*), or drugged. Some are killed with short clubs suspended on the back from a neck-cord. Barbed harpoons are hurled at large fish and caimans.

252 **Food preparation.**—Salt was originally unknown.

262 All game animals are roasted in their skins; only the intestines are [263] boiled. Meat, bones, and nuts are sometimes pounded in a mortar only 16 inches (40 cm.) in height; it has the shape of a decapitated egg, and is planted in the ground. The nuts, either thus pounded or [574] roasted, are mixed with water and stirred into a gruel, which is served to guests.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

361 In the dry season the *Eastern Bororo* settlements are near the river banks, whence they are shifted to higher ground when the rains set in. Even in temporary encampments the center is occupied by a large [342] rectangular house—the men's club, workshop, and ceremonial hall, [345] which likewise serves as the bachelor's dormitory. The family houses, on the other hand, are arranged along the circumference of [184] the circle of which this men's house is the center. Only the *Cabaçaes*

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

lack this characteristic structure, and even they have as its functional equivalent an enclosed space taboo to women and children. Only the Caboclas

Among the *Eastern Bororo* the northern and southern halves of the village circle are associated each with one of the moieties and their constituent clans. At Kejara a second principle of dual division appears: besides the axis that separates the northern from the southern moiety there is another perpendicular to the Vermelho River, creating an Upstream and a Downstream half. Here tradition alleges the pristine existence of several concentric house circles, with residences of the same clan behind one another.

The family house type, though always palm-thatched, differs according to the time of year. During the dry season it is of conical shape and erected with a central pole or tree against which other poles lean. In the frame put up for the rainy season, a crossbeam supporting other poles rests on two forked sticks (pls. 83, *bottom;* 84); generally this hut rises directly from the ground, but occasionally it is put on piles. The erection of the residence is a man's duty.

The women within a house belong to the same clan, each family having its own fire, so that every newly married girl acquires a separate fireplace. The furniture includes mats to sit and sleep on, for even outdoors these Indians avoid resting on the bare ground, over which they spread palm leaves or the branches of a tree. However, there are also platform beds rising about 12 to 16 inches (30 to 40 cm.) above the ground and covered with a layer of palm-leaf stems. Mats or skins serve as blankets. Hammocks are unknown. A hut contains pots, spits for roasting, rocks for breaking hard seeds, spindles, and bivalve shells used as spoons and scissors. A mother will put her baby in the central concavity of a mat suspended by four cords from opposite sides, a fifth enabling the woman to rock her infant while she is attending to her chores. In some huts a stage 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet 6 inches (0.8 to 1 m.) in height serves for roasting fish.

How far the *Western Bororo* mode of settlement conformed to the pattern described is not clear. Koslowsky (1895 b) merely speaks of a Bolivian aldea of some 20 huts with palm-thatched walls and roofs and a mat for the entrance.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

Children go naked. When initiated, a youth acquires a penis sheath, being thus qualified to witness the masquerades customary at funerals. On festive occasions, a decorative pennant is attached to the sheath. Men generally wear a girdle with shell disks, also a necklace of cotton thread, a bone pin in the lower lip, and ear ornaments. The hair is cut horizontally in front (pls. 90, *bottom;* 91); combs are made of bamboo rods held together by cotton plaitwork with designs. Body hair is plucked from the beard, the eyebrows, the pubic region, and the armpits. Women wear a gray perineal band,

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

232 **Feathers.**—The *Bororo* practiced tapirage; they plucked out part of the arara plumage, rubbed into the bare spots the sap of some species of tree, and thus produced yellow feathers.

285 **Basketry and pottery.**—The women make baskets and plain pots.
323 The water vessels, which sometimes have a neck, are characterized by
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[462]

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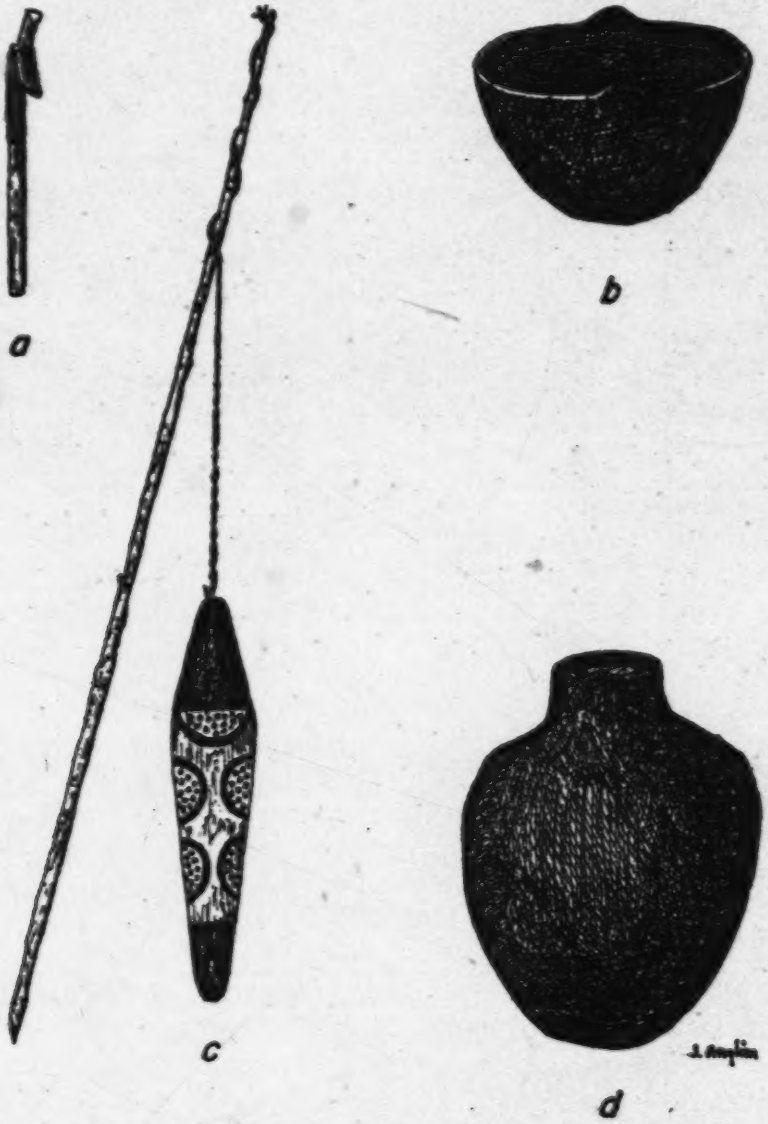

FIGURE 82.—*Bororo* manufactures. a, Gouge made of hafted rodent tooth; b, d, pottery vessels; c, bull-roarer. (Redrawn from Von den Steinen, 1894.)

/139 cont./

121 One cannot say, generalizing, that the sex that does the heavier and economically more valuable work has a position superior or inferior to the other one. Also, many times, it is not possible to decide which is the heavier
462 or economically more valuable work. Thus, Karl von den
222 Steinen (o.c., p. 490) says of the Bororo that among them, "in spite of all the hunting, the vegetable food sought by the women has greater importance because it is obtained with more regularity and in abundance. The women look for roots by means of a sharpened stick, climb with great agility the palm trees among which the oaussú and the acurí have preference, collect the nuts, cut out in the top the 'palm cabbage,' look for fruits of the jatobá /locust tree/ and of the piquí, /Caryocar brasiliense/, etc."

462 The men's typical tasks are, among the Indians,
[224] hunting, cutting and carving wood, and the building of the house. Yet there are exceptions with regard to these tasks too: in some tribes the woman accompanies the man in hunting, even, in certain cases, shooting with the bow; in other tribes, for example among the Bororo, she cuts certain trees in order to obtain palm nuts and honey; in
462 many she also helps in the construction of the house. But,
141 considering this general division of labor, we might, perhaps, be led to suppose, at first sight, that the woman would want to get rid of the heavier tasks, since, among /140/ most of the Indians, she is on the average smaller (3)

[171] 3. In contrast let there be indicated the following tribes described by Barbosa Rodrigues (v. E. Roquette-Pinto, Rondonia, 3rd. ed., São Paulo, 1935, p. 196): "Tembés -- Male stature, in general, shorter than the female. Women tall and thin; men short and fat. Mundurucús -- They are muscular. Men shorter than the

/140 cont./

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141

women, relatively. Women relatively wider in biacromial. Aráras -- The dimensions of the male type are smaller in relation to those of the women. Women narrow in hip and wide biacromial."

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and has less muscular strength than the man, besides being hindered by menstruation and by maternity. Upon investigating more rigorously, however, one discovers that, with the exception of a few tribes of agriculturalists, such as, for example, the Tapirapé, the woman has tasks no less heavy than the man, for example, that of carrying loads on the marches. Among the Bororo the woman is even capable of carrying heavier loads than the man, and, because of this, in the tasks of harvesting at the missions she often earns more than he does.

[434]

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It is also a mistake to think that among the Indians the woman exclusively is dedicated to harvesting the wild plant food and to agriculture. Both sexes collect all the comestibles that they find, although among the hunting peoples the women busy themselves preferably with the harvesting of vegetables, which represent the most important food and which can be obtained more regularly, while the men endeavor to supply the meat. The agriculture, however, among many tribes -- (and in the greater part of the tribes that I visited) -- is almost exclusively a task of the /141/ man, and the woman participates, in some of these tribes, for example among the Tapirapé, only in the tillage itself with the digging stick, that is, in the task of putting into the soil the seed grains, maize, cotton, or earthnuts, but not that of turning the earth and of planting tubers, such as manioc and cará /yam/, or of planting bananas, etc.

[241]
[171]

/141 cont./

462 Finally, we were wrong when we believed that the light tasks, such as plaiting, spinning, and weaving were everywhere the duty of the women.

[284] [171] Among the Bororo and Tereno, the man spins and weaves; among the Karajá /Caraja/ and Tapirapé, the plaiting is masculine work.

462 128 In the following list I demonstrate the division of labor of the sexes among eight different tribes that I visited. One question mark indicates that the job is done or was done formerly in the tribe in question, but that I did not find out to which sex it was attributed. The signs in the rubrics of the Kaingang refer to the modern-day Kaingang of Palmas; some tasks designated there by means of a transverse stroke as not extant were undoubtedly formerly in use.

[Chart "Division of Labor" will be found on p. 27]

/143/

833 562 123 How much the sexual life is related to the social position of the sexes among the Bororo was demonstrated to me by the following statement by Tiago Aipobureu in Meruri. I having asked in which way the sexes place themselves for coitus, he told me that the man and the woman, for that purpose, always lie on the side, to wit, one facing the other. Later he asked me how the whites customarily behave in this matter, and I told him that, as far as I knew about these things, among us the man would lie on top of the woman, but sometimes the opposite would happen. The intelligent Indian became visibly revolted. "What an insult against the one who is underneath!" he exclaimed. I looked at him surprised, and he [775]

[Text Continued on Page 28]

/142/

DIVISION OF LABOR

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	MAN							WOMAN						
	Bororo	Chamacoco	Kaingang	Kaiskiká	Terena	Karajá	Tapirapé	Guayaki	Bororo	Chamacoco	Kaingang	Kaiskiká	Terena	Karajá	Tapirapé	Guayaki
build the house	+		+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
cut wood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
look for wood	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+
cut or incise the trees for the extraction of honey	+		+	-	+	+	+		+		-	-	-	-	-	-
cut palm trees to get the fruits	+		+	-	+	+	+		+		-	-	-	-	-	-
hunt	+		+	+	+	+	+		-		-	-	-	-	-	-
gather wild plant food	+		+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+
gather small animals	+		+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+
gather honey	+		+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+
fish with net	+		-	-	-	+	+		-		-	-	-	-	-	-
fish with bow and arrow	+		+	-	+	+	+		-		-	-	-	-	-	-
fish by poisoning the water	+		-	?	+	+	+		-		-	-	-	-	-	-
cook	-		-	-	-	-	-		+		+	+	?	+	+	-
smoke small animals and fish in the embers	-		-	-	-	-	-		+		+	+	+	+	+	+
smoke large animals on the grill	+		+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+
bring in water	+		+	-	+	+	+		-		-	-	-	-	-	-
carry the load on marches	-		-	-	+	+	-		+		+	+	+	+	+	+
carry the small children	-		-	-	-	+	-		+		+	+	+	+	+	+
carry the older children on marches	-		-	-	-	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	-
paint the face	+		+	+	-	-	-		+		+	+	+	+	+	+
paint the body	+		+	+	-	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+
tattoo	-		-	-	-	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+
pierce the boy's lower lip	+	?	-	-	-	+	+		-	?	-	-	-	-	+	-
pierce the boy's ear lobe	+	+	-	?	-	+	-		-		-	-	?	+	+	-
pierce the girl's ear lobe	-		-	?	-	+	-		-		-	-	?	+	+	-
fabrication of the penis case	-		-	-	-	+	-		-		-	-	-	-	-	-
fabrication of the woman's garb	-		-	-	-	-	-		+		+	+	?	+	+	-
fabrication of the cord made of hair	+		+	?	?	-	-		+		-	-	?	+	+	+
fabrication of thick cords	+	+	+	+	?	+	+		-		-	+	?	+	+	+
fabrication of fine cords	+	+	+	+	?	-	-		-		-	+	?	+	+	+
fabrication of knotted work	+		+	-	-	-	-		-		-	-	-	+	+	-
plait (baskets, etc.)	+		+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	-	+
plait the hunting bag from a palm leaf	-		-	-	-	-	-		+		-	-	-	-	-	-
spin and weave or make crochet work	+		-	+	-	-	-		-		-	+	-	+	+	-
fabrication of the implements for spinning and weaving	+		-	+	+	+	-		-		-	+	-	-	-	-
elaboration of wood	+		-	+	+	+	-		-		-	+	-	-	-	-
cultivation of gourds	?	+	-	?	+	+	-	?	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-
elaboration of gourds	+	+	-	?	+	+	-		-		-	?	-	-	-	-
elaboration of bones, claws, teeth, shellfish, stones, or metals	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-		-	-	-	-	-	-
fabrication of feather ornaments	+	-	?	+	+	+	-		+	+	?	+	+	-	+	-
fabrication of clay vessels	-	-	?	-	-	-	-		+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+

/158 cont./

764 As Tiago Aipobureu told me, there exists even today
462 the custom that the women prepare the food for the
252 funeral feasts, which is taken by the lads to the men's house, completely closed, and consumed there by those present. According to the tribal tradition, the dead one also participates in this banquet. But the sincere Tiago Aipobureu added: "The women know, however, what really happens there, although they pretend not to know. There are always men who tell them everything."

796 Both sexes of the Bororo take part in the majority of
562 the songs and dances; it is true, however, that on these
273 occasions the female sex always has a secondary role. According to Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 491), men and women get drunk without distinction, with the wine obtained from the acuri palm.

562 /159/ The position of the sexes is also evident on the
765 occasion of death. As among almost all the tribes of eastern
171 South America, among the Bororo too the closer relatives
603 of the dead man of woman, especially the widower or widow,
302 cut the hair.

765 The following passages of the account by Karl von den
307 Steinen are characteristic of the behavior of a widower (o.c., p. 505): "Coqueiro in his hut, made cuts on his arms and legs, which became covered with scabs of coagulated blood; and in the afternoon there took place the solemn destruction of the goods of the dead woman, said better, the goods of her family, which had lived in the same hut as she. -- After this (o.c., p. 508): "Coqueiro arrived with a child by the hand. He sat down silently at the side,
301 he sobbed and wept. He did not have any adornment besides the black rope around his body, which he had spun and interwoven out of his wife's hair. His cheeks were wet with tears; he pressed his eyes as if the weeping were painful." -- And finally (o.c., p. 510): "Coqueiro
431 remained with nothing. The friends made bow and arrows, presenting them to him."

/159 cont./

765 Although we can affirm that by this behavior is manifested the fear of the enigmatic phenomenon of death, it seems that the widower Coqueiro showed the true sorrow of a loving husband and with this proved how much he esteemed his wife.

775 593 When I spoke of the sexual life, I already mentioned that, according to the belief of the Bororo, the couples are reunited again after death. It is necessary to add that then they only /160/ get together after having become araras or other animals, corresponding to the belief in the transmigration of souls among these Indians. If a man had two wives, he is reunited with both after death. If he was married several times, he is reunited after death with the wife or wives of his last union. The widow who marries again is reunited after death with the last husband. Apparently, the reunion after death takes place, consequently, always according to the desire of the surviving spouse. The child is reunited with the parents, telling them all that happened since their death.

589 About the life of the widow, Colbacchini (o.c., p. 58) writes: "The widows are truly free and enjoy the same position as before. Widowhood does not impose honors or duties. They may marry again; on the part of the women there is no aversion to marrying widowers either. Once the husband is dead, the widow remains in the company of her relatives."

756 462 184 797 533 774 The Bororo of the missions assured me that among them there never existed female bari (doctors-sorceresses), but old-women healers. They told me that the one who knew how to sing best, with a louder and longer-lasting voice, and who also had other aptitudes was elected as bari. But the inhabitants of the aldeia Tori-paru told me that the bari was not elected, but that the demon bope enters any one

/160 cont./

of their people, and this one then becomes bari. Nobody knows ahead of time who will become bari. Two persons might become bari at the /161/ same time and in the same way, and both men and women.

Doctor-sorceresses are very rare among the primitive peoples of South America. The Tapirapé had a female pantché and they killed her as the supposed cause of misfortunes.

In another place (Herbert Baldus: "Die Allmutter in der Mythologie zweier südamerikanischer Indianerstämme /The All-mother in the Mythology of two South American Indian tribes/" Archiv für Religionswissenschaft XXIX, Leipzig, 1932; French translation by Dr. A. Métraux in the Revista del Instituto de Etnología, II, Tucumán, 1932), I tried to demonstrate how the social organizations among tribes of South American Indians are reflected in their mythology. Among the Bororo we found two "origin myths" (Ursprungs-mythen), whose elements are quite widespread on this continent. A girl from the tribe marries a jaguar. She dies and from her body are taken twins, who, appear, later as the civilizing heroes and the ancestors of the tribe. In this myth, consequently, there appears the figure of a "primary mother" (Urmutter; Baldus, o.c.) as we find her, in the majority of cases, among peoples of matrilocal, and many times also matrilineal organization. It is true that she sometimes exists today along with a patrilocal and patrilineal organization; but, concerning this, we must first consider that many myths make great migrations and are, many times, with the greatest facility, incorporated in the mythology of a tribe; and, in the second place, that the /162/ social forms are not

6:Kozfk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Borneo SP8

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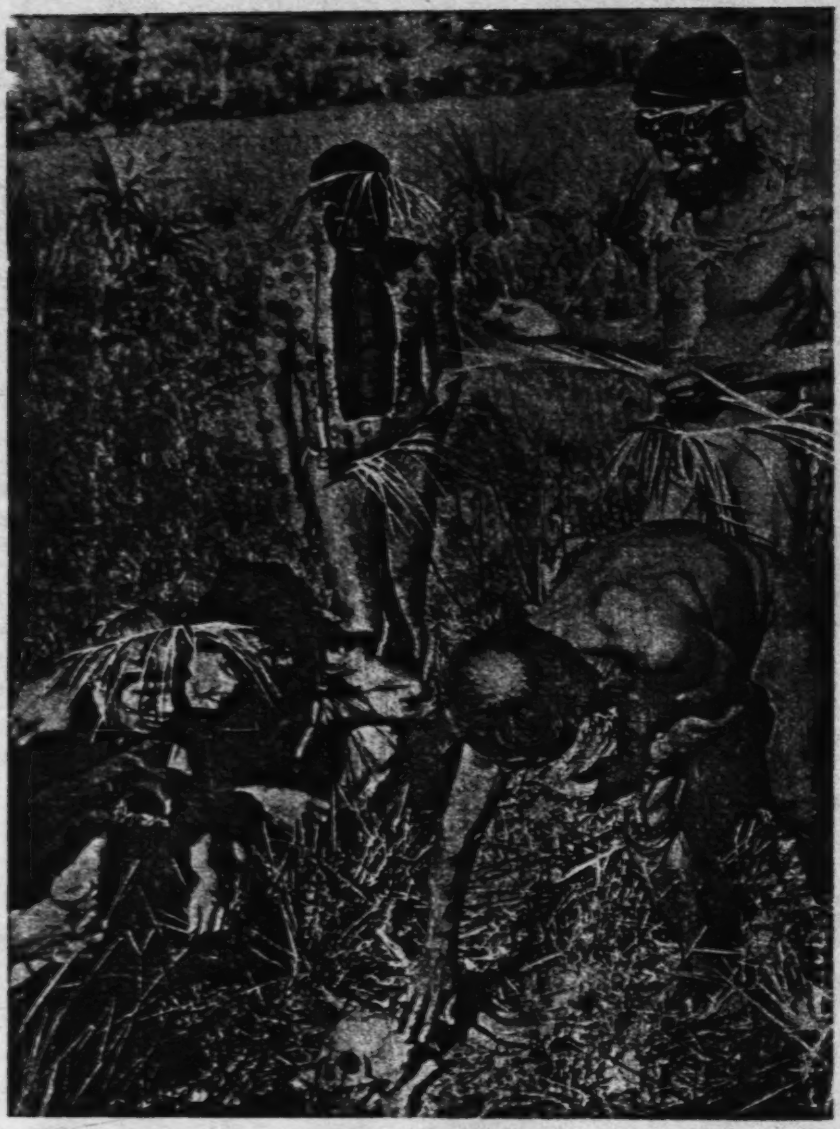

ONLY MEN take part in washing bones in swamp near village. Shaman touches skull in a kind of benediction before all bones are taken back to the plaza.

[p. 46-A]

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

524 keep the lead. As they entered the village one wheel burst through the side of a hut. Finally both parties threw down their wheels in the public square at nearly the same moment, greeted by the applause of the whole village. They now all retired to partake of their [352] evening feast and left the wheels to be torn apart by the women and children for use as pillows. A feast always ends the game, each 224 party eating separately.

226 When about to go on a fishing trip, especially when fish are 533 scarce, or on a hunting expedition, they sing the bakaroro, which seems to be a hymn in praise of the beast or fish that is to be hunted the next day. It is sung within the baehytu after nightfall and several times a week when food is scarce. The good qualities of the animal are named, and how well it will be treated and the use that will be made of it when taken. In this anthem, the man again exhibits his imitative qualities by attempting to reproduce the animal sounds which he has been most accustomed to hear. Frogs and toads are especially favored. While visiting the Kogy ao Paro village, about twenty miles away, we spent a night in the baehytu, and listened to the bakaroro at close quarters. The din, the darkness broken only by the red light of the fire that cooked our beef, the stagnant air, the noise of this squad of human beings reproducing the sound of everything that dwells thereabouts, made one imagine that he had passed from the earthly to the unearthly. [532] After the bakaroro, the singers went outside the baehytu, and having cleared away the black earth, brought ashes and made animals in relief on the ground, especially the tapir which they were to hunt next day. This is also a tribute of honor to the animals. They also sing the bakaroro in honor of a visitor. As they had seen men hunting on horses and admired this method, they formed a horse in relief with a man mounted on it.

462 It is always the man (mêdo, from meri, the sun) who does the light work, while the woman (arêda, from are, the moon) is the beast of burden. She it is who must provide food for the family. Her lord may go fishing or hunting, and if he brings home something, well and good, but if not, he expects to find food on returning to his hut.

582 There appears to be no regular marriage ceremony among them. 583 The girl is betrothed before reaching the age of eight or ten, and married at from ten to fourteen or even younger. She becomes betrothed by her would-be husband presenting to her parents a specially fine fish, or some animal whose flesh is much esteemed, he of course having made known in some way what he wishes in re-

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
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long tongue-like leaf furnishes a silk or band of strands called bokigo, which he rolls into a single strand as he sits cross-legged on the ground, and by twisting this strand with others he obtains cording with which to make his fishing nets, harpoon lines, etc. From the ground he digs two or three varieties of the potato family, which he boils. Corn is eaten as roasting ears or cut from the ears and boiled. They use no salt. The large ant bear is considered the most valuable of all creatures. Nearly every part of its body is utilized. When discovered it is driven to the village for slaughter in order to secure its blood. After this comes the tapir, which is also greatly esteemed. When food is plenty they eat nearly all the time when awake, and even rise several times in the night to take a little food. While we were in the baehytu at the Kogy ao Paro village we saw 33 men devour upwards of 25 gallons of boiled shelled corn within an hour and a half, and they had been nibbling roast ears all the morning. The two men who had accompanied us from the Ja-Dare-Mano Paro were induced to eat from every pot as they were brought in one at a time. They seem never to get full, and will eat as long as there is anything to be had. While at work making bows and arrows and ornaments, they are nibbling food, if they can obtain it. They eat the corn mush squatting and standing around the pot, using large oyster-like shells or broad leaves as spoons.

Their language seems quite free from clicks and from deep gutturals. The names given to animals are often in imitation of the sound produced by the animal. Ki, for instance, means tapir, and is a close imitation of the note of this animal; pobu means river or water; pobu camahina is great river; meri rutu, sunset; adugo, spotted tiger or ounce; and aigo, brown ounce. Báekimo is the negative; Boe by báekimo means "Indian die not"—"I will not die."

They are wonderful whistlers and seem able thus to communicate whatever they otherwise would by speech.

All the fine and ornamental work is done by the men. A great deal of time and labor is spent in making seemingly unimportant articles, and the time consumed in shaping and burnishing an arrow is astonishing, generally the larger part of two days. The shell ornament worn around the neck is made by the reciprocating motion of the point of a sharp instrument of flint or of iron or steel, if they can obtain it, fastened near the center of a roughly shaped shell. A fire is kindled in the same way by boring a wooden rod into another bit of wood. When holes have been made in bits of roughly

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from fruits and vegetables, besides chips and other débris from weapon and ornament making. Like infants, they simply drop, wherever they happen to be, such parts of the food they are eating as they do not want.

There is no household furniture, as we understand it, in these primitive residences. Mats, made by braiding together the long, slender leaves of palm-branches, are spread upon the ground to serve as beds, tables, chairs, and sofas. Calabash and gourd shells of various shapes and sizes, and large, oyster-like shells, found in the woods, are the pans, basins, bowls, bottles, cups, plates and spoons, furnished by Nature, ready for use. A few clay pots are the only vessels the Bororó have which are made by their own hands. The "stove" is a light fire made by placing the ends of small sticks together like spokes of a wheel. The "pantry" is a little platform of sticks five feet directly above the fire, supported by four stakes, upon which is placed the food that cannot be eaten at once in order that it may be preserved by the smoke. Palm-nuts are also heaped up here. Stuck around in the roof and hanging from it, are seen the primitive weapons of war and of the chase, such as bows and various kinds of spear-like arrows, fishing gear, several kinds of small, home-made baskets, feather and bone ornaments, charms, and ceremonial paraphernalia. The primitive housekeeper is seen squatting or kneeling, engaged in the preparation of some insipid broth in a clay pot over the little fire, or else splitting goose-egg cocoanuts and pulverizing the meats in a rude mortar with which to make a kind of bread. The head of the household kneels, or sits cross-legged, on a palm-leaf mat occupied in making bows and arrows or ornaments, or repairing fishing-tackle; or else lying full-length on his mat with a five-inch pole for a pillow, on which the neck rests, and nibbling a bit of jungle food; while the children are seen, either assisting the mother in her culinary operations, or amusing themselves in a quiet way just outside the hut. Not a patch of "dry goods" has ever entered this human

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000 food largely, or wholly, from uncultivated, unsubdued Nature, consuming much of it in a raw state; and instead of mastering Nature, Nature crushes him. Again, like the brutes, he scours forest and field to satisfy only for to-day the hunger of himself and his little brood, with no thought for to-morrow; and having secured an abundance of game, he eats enormously, then lies down contentedly to sleep, and rises up to play, until hunger again drives him forth in search of prey. Once more like his irrational neighbors, the object of his existence, apparently, is not to possess houses and lands and goods, but simply to have a mate, food for the moment, and to pass his days in childish amusements. When the sun is hot, he sleeps, or instinctively seeks the water that he may play in it and cool himself; when night comes, he arouses himself and sings his *bakororó* in common with all the frogs and toads, and other creatures. Lastly, like the wild animals, he is clothed only as Nature clothes him.

462 Imitating Nature, the social economy of these primitive people is, in important respects, the reverse of Christian civilization. Like irrational nature, the female is the principal, or most responsible food provider for the little family, or brood—
[301] not the male. Again, like the female in Nature, and unlike Christian civilization, the female does not adorn herself, nor sing or play; while the male, on the other hand, peacock-like, decorating his person, makes himself gorgeous and struts about in a lordly manner; and besides, like the male in Nature, produces all the music. Once more, the female performs all the heavy work and the drudgery, and is the servant and slave of her mate, while the light and fancy work, including ornament making, is done by the male. Woman in all ages and lands from the dawn of time, has occupied herself exclusively in the pursuits of peace. More gentle, affectionate and domestic in her nature than the man, she has remained by the fireside collecting and preparing fruit and vegetable foods without destroying life, making pots and pans and other necessary household utensils, preparing implements of husbandry and tilling the soil, loving peace, and reproducing and nourishing

her specie. While the man, on the contrary, fierce and war-like in his nature, has busied himself from time immemorial making deadly weapons, fighting and slaughtering. The woman was the first farmer, the first miller, the first potter and basket maker, the first dressmaker and tailor, the first beast of burden, and some men think the first ecclesiastic; while the man was the first murderer. 462

Every morning, small parties of Bororó females, unarmed, may be seen going forth in various directions with huge baskets on their backs, suspended by bark straps from their foreheads, to explore jungle and forest in search of fruits and vegetables, many of them reaching out eight or ten miles from home, and returning late in the day carrying one hundred fifty or more pounds of goose-egg cocoanuts, hearts of dwarf palms, wild potatoes, and other food material, and perhaps also, transporting a child three or four years old which sits in the loop of a bark strap that passes over the mother's shoulders. If the man should return, empty handed, from a hunting or fishing expedition, he nevertheless requires, Esau-like, that at least a "mess of pottage" should await him. 222 [482] [854]

The Bororó female is betrothed, or, more correctly, is contracted for in infancy, and married when she reaches the age of ten or twelve years. If she is not married, or at least spoken for, ere she reaches the age of twelve or fourteen years, she will be seized, unawares, some day, dragged to the great hut, and forced to become a victim to the lusts of all the men of the village. It is a terrible ordeal for the poor, helpless creature, and she is nearly, if not altogether done to death at times. Her parents, though they may grieve for her, do not, or dare not, attempt to rescue her. Her assailants will not enter the parental hut to take her. They have, evidently, some idea of the sanctity, or the inviolability of the private residence. But they catch her by stealth when she is outside the family hut. Because of this hideous custom, parents earnestly desire that their daughters should at least be contracted for when still very young. I was told that they are often contracted for when but a few days, or a few months old. 582 584 839 [584]

853 children climb the mother's leg to nurse. She does not appear to take any more notice of her child at such times than does a 162 mother goat her kid. Bororó families are small. I did not see a mother with more than three children. The *mêdo* are usually 593 faithful to their wives; that is, they seldom desert them, especially if they have children. At rare intervals, one becomes 586 dissatisfied with his *arêda* and drives her from his hut, then leaving home himself, goes to reside in some other village of the tribe.

578 Fights between two *mêdo* are not uncommon, owing, nearly always, to one meddling with the *arêda* of the other. The fight is precipitated by the outraged husband, as he perhaps sits at work in his hut, beginning to express his opinion of the other *mêdo*, and to hurl at him offensive epithets. The other *mêdo*, sitting in his hut at the opposite side of the cluster of huts, responds loudly with interest. As they become more and more enraged, they challenge each other to fight, prepare themselves and come out of their huts, and finally meet on the village playground; and every *mêdo*, *arêda*, and *naragêda*—child—in the local horde abandons at once every occupation and forms a circle around the combatants, for an event of this kind is considered the finest kind of sport and not to be missed on any account. This is a go-as-you-please encounter; there are no rules, except that the dualists do not use deadly weapons. So they roll and tumble, and kick, and punch, and bite, and scratch one another, having the poisonous spine of the fish called sting-ray, armed to their little fingers, and bellow and roar continually, like fiends. Their powers of endurance are marvelous, and the combat often continues many hours. Finally, one is vanquished, and he leaves the village and the *arêda* in question to the victor, and takes up his residence in a distant village of [674] the tribe. The Bororó rarely murder one another.

142 The Bororó women are nearly as large and scarcely less 147 muscular than the men, and can carry heavy loads great distances, having been inured to this from childhood. When a 484 family moves from one village to another, or goes forth on a 482 two or three months' hunting and fishing expedition during the 462

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dry season, the *arîda* carries all the family effects, and perhaps also a child four or five years old, while her lord marches a few paces in advance of her, carrying only his bow and arrows, and perhaps also a fire-brand. The party makes but short marches, however, halting frequently to rest for an hour or two around the little fire which they always kindle, and to roast and eat a bit of meat, if they should have it, or to nibble some vegetable food.

Some of the Rio Negro savages, mentioned by Wallace, subject their females to a terrible ordeal when they approach womanhood. At the first sign of puberty, the poor, innocent maiden is placed in seclusion in the family hut where she is kept a month and allowed only a small quantity of one kind of food, and water, as if she had committed a crime. When the time of her imprisonment is about to end, all the relatives and friends of the family are assembled, each of whom brings a yard or two of the stalk of a heavy climbing plant to use as a lash. The unhappy girl is now brought into their presence, entirely naked, and each and every person strikes her five or six heavy blows across the back and breast with his lash. Usually, she falls unconscious under this awful castigation, and sometimes dies. If she recovers, the flogging is repeated four or five times at intervals of about six hours. Each guest must strike hard, for it is considered an insult to the parents of the victim not to do so. Finally, when the castigation terminates, pots of various kinds of fish and game which have been prepared, are set before the company, into which each person dips his lash and passes it to the wretched girl to lick. She is now considered a woman, and may eat anything she wishes, or marry. Boys approaching manhood are subject to a somewhat similar ordeal, but not so severe, which initiates them into man's estate and allows them to witness the playing of the mystery instruments, which correspond to the roarer among the Bororó, and also to marry.

Among these savages, marriages seldom occur between relatives or near neighbors, but the swain seeks a wife at a distant village of his tribe, or even from another tribe. Having

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to war, they must choose one as their leader; or one becomes such by mutual consent. We gave the Kogi au Paro chief some presents, which seemed to please him much, and he returned the favor, bringing us some vegetables.

Next morning, soon after daybreak, and after the singing of the *bakororó*, which is sung at dawn in this village as well as at dusk, the men of the village gradually assembled in the great hut, and sitting cross-legged on their mats, occupied themselves in various ways. Several worked at making bows and arrows, cordage and nets; a few shook out raw fibre preparatory to rolling it on their knees into threads; one or two spun cotton, rolling it between the palms of the hands, then winding it on a rude, wooden spindle; one man wove, or crochetted, a narrow cotton belt by means of a peculiar little contrivance made by binding together two small reeds; another made a kind of bead by boring holes through shell or stone discs and making them uniform in diameter by stringing them tightly together and passing a sort of whetstone over them as they were held firmly upon a block. The holes were bored through the discs by revolving rapidly between the palms of the hands, a stone-pointed instrument, like a large lead-pencil. The Bororó kindle a fire in much the same manner, revolving a pointed wooden rod as it rests upon a certain kind of wood. Various other articles were in process of manufacture in this primitive workshop. A few men who were not occupied, lay stretched full length on their palm-leaf mats, dozing, or occasionally exchanging a few words with one another in voices that were partly mumbling speech, and partly like the purring of a cat. The Bororó artificer works very slowly, for nearly two entire days are consumed in the making of a single arrow, which, however, is made with almost infinite care. But time is of no value to these people.

The Sheraidi and the Ta Nagareda divisions, into which the Kogi au Paro village, in common with all other Bororó encampments is divided, sat in separate groups, each occupying one-half the great hut. These two divisions hunt, fish, play

/487 cont./

321 by breaking up a shell and /488/ polishing the edges of the pieces on stone. In this way they bored through teeth and squeezed those that were small in an oaussú nut, several beside one another, so that they would not slip. Also peculiar was their method of making beads out of the carapace of the armadillo. It represents an arched shield made up of numerous small polygons; on the inner side of each polygon there is a natural pin-point depression: the twirl-borer was placed in this, and only after the entire shield was thus evenly perforated like a sieve, was it broken up into the individual small plates, which were strung in a row and polished round.

Fig. 141. Bororó woman with breast strings and arm bands.

285 [765] → [142] [301] [302] ←

Basket-bags into which the bones were packed at the ceremony for the dead, square fire-fans which were also used as plates or were tied on a handle like small flags in order to be used to ward off mosquitoes, and the large sleeping mats made of the oaussú palm leaf (two meters long, 90 centi-
● [462] meters wide) were plaited. The pouch-shaped carrying baskets apparently were plaited by the women.

283 [462] The men spun. The men's house a spinning room! I confess it gave me an adventurous feeling when I saw for the first time one of these hunters loosening flocks of cotton by jerking them on a bowstring. They spun cotton and the hair of their dead, but in a manner different from that of the women on the Kulisehu. The spindle whorl, four to four and a half centimeters in diameter, was a disk of shell or clay and sat on the upper fourth of the little stick stuck through it. While the left hand held the drawn-out

/490 cont./

beverage which corresponds to the starch-paste or the pikí juice of the Kulisehu and is served to the guest. The maize mush to which we were introduced in the ranchão is absent in the villages because there is no maize. The women prepare the vegetable food. They also make the pots, of which there was only a small number. There were two kinds, an open bowl, ruóbo, in which one cooked, and a póli with a short neck and narrow bottom, almost in the shape of the mortar, which was also used as a vessel, for the storing of water. They were very crude, superficially fired, not glazed inside. The mortar, crudely carved, only about 40 centimeters tall, but easily transportable, had roughly the shape of an

Fig. 142. Waterpot and pot-bowl. Bororó. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

egg from which one pole was cut straight off and, when used, was stuck in the ground. Besides nuts, they also pounded meat and bones in it.

When the women came home to Thereza Christina, they gave the men "carne de coco," nut meat, and were given what was left of the "carne de gado," beef. Salt and bacon were scorned. Although wild pig was their favorite food, they refused the meat of the domestic pig because the animal was raised by its owner. When a suckling pig was served to the officers, they ran out of the room. They had no such scruples about sand fleas which they dug out for themselves (we watched an Indian woman as she performed the

224 Men hunted all the local game singly or in groups,
[231] but in former times did not use dogs.

Women make pots (*porikupú*) of various sizes,
462 all shaped like half of an egg shell. Both men
[323] and women make baskets of two types. One,
[285] shaped like the pots, called *kothodókwa*, is an openwork burden basket about 24 inches high and 16 inches across at the top and is made from aguasu palm leaves. The other, which is in fact a bag, is made from the cortex of buriti palm fronds. This bag (*yethabótho*) is used for storing
[286] feathers, twine, and ornaments. Men weave the sleeping mats from the same material used for
[283] making the burden baskets. Women spin cotton, using the spindle (*hálaka*) spun on the ground. Cotton materials are woven by women on an upright loom (*ipokapa*).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

622 In the past the chief (*hutorikána*) was not only
721 an economic and ceremonial leader but a war leader as well. Although the son of the chief had
[623] a right to succeed his father, the actual decision was made by all the men in council. The Umotina say that they used to fight with a tribe called Abusé that lived to the north of them and with white men. When the chief decided on a raid he blew his horn (*ipóna*) made from the shell of an
[714] armadillo. The men then made arrows and war clubs, and just before attacking they painted themselves black with genipapo and glued feathers on their temples. The Umotina used a shield made by stretching tapir skin on a square wooden
727 frame, and they poisoned their arrows. When attacking they killed the men but sometimes
[301] kept some of the younger women. They cut off the heads of their enemies and used the teeth to
[266] make necklaces. The heads of white men were boiled and eaten.

601 The kinship system of the Umotina is of the Hawaiian type. In the grandparents generation there are terms for grandfather (*iyokomishína*) and grandmother (*imakomishóto*) which are extended to the siblings of the grandparents. In the parental generation there are just two terms, father (*iyóko*) the term being extended to cover father's brothers and mother's brothers, and the term mother (*imáko*) which is extended to cover mother's sisters and father's sisters. In ego's generation there are terms for brother (*amána*) and

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